1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

It is not without significance that in ceremonies of circumcision and marriage, the boy and the man have to visit the mosque in a ceremonial way where dates and food are distributed. In praise of marriage, a villager would quote the Prophet's saying, 'He who marries has perfected half his religious requirements, and he has only to fear God in the other half'. It is also worth stating that the majority of the personal names of both sexes have some religious meaning or are the names of some religious personalities.

The importance of sacredness not only permeates those levels, justifying acts and deeds, but also reaches the substance of living, namely, foodstuffs and bread, usually referred to as the 'sustenance of Islam' and which are considered to be sacred. A good harvest is a sign of God's approval; a torrent of rain which destroys the villagers' crops is a sign of His disapproval. To impart holiness to the land before sowing, or to the harvest before threshing, a sacrifice of an animal and the partaking of a communal meal are desirable acts. According to the enlightened religious view, the villagers do not distinguish between pagan and the proper Islamic concepts. The village schoolmaster said that the belief in the power of saints, sorcery, and magic, and the appeal to divination and ritual for healing the sick as practised in the village, are complexly interwoven with Islamic beliefs, but they are not in fact a part of the pure Faith.[1] It is believed that sickness might be inflicted by a saint for not fulfilling a vow taken in his name, or for not offering him his due customary gift and sacrifice. A great deal of treatment of disease and of acquiring of good luck could be achieved by prayers, sacred charms, and propitiation of saints. The strength of the religious force could be also ascertained from the fact that the most binding guarantee for a promise is to swear by the name of Allah or to read the Fatiha. It is also customary for the villagers to take an oath sacrifice for God or a saint, which is a kind of conditional oath involving the slaying of an animal on the fulfilment of a certain task and the attendant danger that may ensue in the event of perjury.

The certainty and uniformity in religious beliefs and rituals specially noted in the observance of the fasting month, is an index of the religious group cohesiveness. All the villagers belong to the Maliki school of the Sunni tradition. Most of the adult villagers attend the Friday noon prayers, and say their regular daily prayers either at home or in the mosque. There is a well-known Islamic tradition believed by the villagers that group prayers are more efficacious and rewarding than those said alone.

It is no exaggeration to say that the folk culture of the village is permeated by religious sanctions and moral values derived from the Islamic traditions as revealed in the Koran and also infused with rituals and beliefs of an older tradition. It is not difficult to assert that there is hardly

[1] See John Walker, *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London, 1934. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, London, 1930.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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APPENDIX II

The following is the lunar calendar and the main religious events connected with it.

Lunar Months	*Religious Events*
Muharram	First day of the month is celebrated as the beginning of the new year. Tenth occasions a 'Rahmat' meal on ' 'Ashoura'.[1]
Safar	—
Rabi Awwal	Celebration of the Prophet's birthday on the 12th.
Rabi Tani	—
Jamad Awwal	—
Jamad Tani	—
Rajab	A 'Rahmat' meal to commemorate the Prophet's journey from Medina to Jerusalem 'Israi' on 27th.
Shaaban	Meal and prayers on the 14th.
Ramadan	The month of fasting.
Shawwal	On its first day is the breaking of the fast and the celebration of 'Id Ramadan, first feast.
Zul Ka'dda	Preparation for pilgrimage.
Zul Hijjah	'Rhamat' meal on the 9th day called 'Arafat'. Tenth celebration of the Great Feast ('Id al Adha).

[1] Ashoura is a Shiite event of lamentation and blood sacrifice to commemorate the death of Husain. In spite of the fact that the villagers are Sunnis (Malikites) they have a special meal to invoke God's mercy on their departed.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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[P.259]

Appendix Five

THE WOMAN WHO SPEAKS IN KORANIC QUOTATIONS 7/A

ABDULLAH IBN AL-MUBARAK relates: 'I intended to perform my pilgrimage one year, so I joined the caravan that was going to Mecca. On the way I overslept one night, only to find on my awaking that the caravan had left. While pursuing the caravan, I found a woman who had also lost her way. On my enquiring her name, she answered, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—and mention Mary in the Book".[1] So I knew that her name was Mary (Mariam). I offered her food, but she refused, saying, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—surely I have vowed a fast to the Beneficent God".[2] As I understood that she was fasting, I recited to her, "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful—but whoever among you is sick or on a journey, then (he shall fast) a (like) number of other days".[3] To this she replied, "In the name of God . . . and that you fast is better for you if you know". Then I asked her whether she wanted to ride on my camel, and she recited, "In the name of God . . . and whoever does good deeds, whether male or female, and he (or she) is a believer—these shall enter the Garden, and they shall not be dealt with a jot unjustly".[4] So I knew she wanted to ride, so I made the camel kneel for her to mount, and she recited, "In the name of God . . . say to the believing men that they cast down their looks, and guard their private parts: that is pure for them: surely Allah is aware of what they do".[5] Immediately I knew that she desired me to be modest, so I turned away my face while she mounted. While I was urging the camel to get up, she quoted, "In the name of God . . . Glory to Him who made this subservient to us, and we were not able to do it".[6] On the way I asked her whether she had any children and her answer was, "In the name of God . . . and mention Abraham in the Book: surely he was a truthful man, a Prophet".[7] "O John (Yahya), take

[1] Koran, xix, 16.
[2] Koran, ii, 184.
[3] Koran, xxiv, 30.
[4] Koran, xix, 41.
[5] Koran, xix, 26.
[6] Koran, iv, 124.
[7] Koran, xliii, 13.

7/A [For commentary on this story, see category 116, p. 173-Gaulier]

788
539

[785]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Copts MR10

remain for the whole week, engaging rooms for themselves beforehand if they are not lucky enough to have friends in the neighbourhood with whom they can stay. Certain proceedings which I witnessed at this festival, happily absent from most of the village *mawālid* for Muslim sheikhs which I have attended, would, I fear, have met with the strong disapproval of the good St George!

Ramaḍān is the month of the Muslim fast. From an hour before sunrise till after sunset no food must be eaten by the faithful, and, what is a severer privation in a hot, dry climate like that of Egypt, not a drop of water must pass their lips. I am always filled with admiration for the courageous and cheerful way in which the poor *felläḥīn* endure this most trying penance, carrying on their tasks with the same light-heartedness that they are wont to display at all times. It is a very serious strain on the fortitude of all those who have to work, and it is especially trying to those officials who observe the fast strictly, and yet whose duties oblige them to travel on tours of inspection or for the investigation of crimes.

On the day following the termination of Ramaḍān, *el-ʿId eṣ-Ṣughaiyar* (Little Festival) is held. It is a day of great rejoicing and is observed as a public holiday, for the trying fast is over at last. Friends visit each other to express their good wishes, and all classes endeavour to show special hospitality in honour of the occasion. The poor are never forgotten on this day of rejoicing, and gifts of money and food are distributed by those who are in more fortunate circumstances.

On this day the dead also are held in remembrance and most families repair to the cemeteries early in the morning, the women carrying baskets on their heads containing bread, dates, and other sweet things, which are distributed in the names of their dead relatives among the poor (Fig. 147). Palm-branches are laid on the graves, or are broken into shorter lengths and stuck upright in front of the tombs. *Fuḳahā* (see p. 172) are always present on these occasions, as most people engage them to recite by the graves, paying them for their services with gifts from their baskets, and sometimes with money also. The rest of the day is given up to festivities, which are continued for two days more.

El-ʿId el-Kibīr (the Great Festival, held in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac) follows forty days later, and a public holiday of three or four days' duration is observed. Quantities of grain are given as gifts to the poorer folk by those who possess

a mat, they listen to the *meazûn*, or preacher, as he reads them a chapter from the Koran. F 782 796 516

On Sundays the Christian fellaheen attend the interminable Coptic mass. But here worship is more of a family affair, and women take part in the prayers and chants. F C 788

The Moslems do not understand the literary dialect of the Koran, neither do the Christians understand the Coptic language of their mass. All the fellaheen from one end of Egypt to the other speak what is called 'the vulgar tongue', i.e. colloquial Arabic. This is a dialect differing a great deal in its vocabulary from those of Syria and Morocco. In Egypt there is no distinct dialect in this or that province, but only a number of variant words and expressions, and, in the South, a more guttural pronunciation, which betrays the Upper Egyptian. C F 781 198 788

Fasting is strictly observed by the Moslems in Ramadan and by the Copts in Lent. The former during the holy month abstain from all eating and drinking from dawn to sunset. The latter, for about two hundred days of the year, eat nothing from midnight to midday. F C 785 262

Almsgiving is another obligation which the fellaheen do not neglect. Within the limits of their means they fulfil it ungrudgingly, not in money but in kind. They make gifts to the blind, to ministers of religion, and to those poorer than themselves; and this in addition to regular and compulsory presents. F 735 782 731

On the other hand, few fellaheen make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and if they do, it is at the price of heroic sufferings. The happy pilgrim, on his return after six or eight months' absence, bringing blessings from the holy places to his village, is welcomed like one coming back from the dead. His pious achievement marks him out from the rest, and his children share his renown. He is henceforward always addressed by the title of "*Hagg*" and his pilgrimage is commemorated on the walls of his house. On the white-washed front the crude outlines of men, carriages and ships are painted, with his name and the date. The same customs are observed by Coptic fellaheen who have visited Jerusalem, and thus earned the titled of "*Muqaddis*". C F 794 554 C F [532]

More frequented and more popular than the mosque, because there is no distinction of age or sex, is the tomb of F 778

183
771 "*In sha Allah*".
812 "In sha Allah's no good. We're talking business, and
737 I want a definite promise".

"No *in sha Allah*, no cotton, *ya khawâga*. Good day".

771 'God will provide. God distributes His benefits, God
776 protects the crops. God is with the patient. To everyone
181 the fate which God has assigned him. We are from God, and to God we shall return. God is there. God will give in His own good time. Man proposes and God disposes. God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' Such are the sentences of peasant theology. They encourage fatalism and deepen resignation, but they are often rich with all the splendour of filial obedience to the Divine Will.

776 The fellah believes in God as the Prime Mover and First
812 of all Living. In spite of the poverty of his intellect, and his ignorance in matters of religion, his conception of God is admirably pure. God is the Almighty, the Just, the Good. All attributes are united in the word the peasant uses for God, *Rabbina*, our Lord and Master. To hear a fellah utter this word is to be convinced of his faith.

771 The superstitions which enmesh his soul have not cor-
782 rupted the essence of his faith. The fellaheen are far more
785 given to prayer and asceticism than other people, for they are by nature believers. They have always been powerfully attracted by sacredness (*baraka*), the supernatural, holiness, or even the appearance of these things.

779 The Catholics among the fellaheen, whom the writer
793 knows best, can be splendidly religious in their lives, even to
771 the point of heroism. Those of their priests who are fellaheen live among them and for them with a devotion and self-denial of which missionaries from Europe would rarely be capable. It must not be forgotten that the first monks of the Christian world, the monks of the Thebaid, were fellaheen (").

113 78. 'Aly Shamsy Pasha, Speech in the Chamber, December 1939.

79. A Village Summer School, article in The Social Workers' Bulletin, May 1938.

80. 'Abdul-Halim Abu-Seif Radi, 7.4.1941.

81. Apostolic Letter to the Mexican Bishops, 28.3.1937; section on the peasantry.

● 795 796 527 82. The fasting month of Ramadan is succeeded by the month of Shawwal, the first three days of which are a great public holiday, the Lesser Bairam. About two months later comes the other great holiday, the four days of the Great Bairam.

he had made up his mind to travel on the morrow to the Nile Valley. Then my heart was aflutter at this news, and I begged him to delay his journey until after the morrow, until I had given him my cash to double. He demurred a little, then after my much pleading, he consented at last. So I handed him all my wealth, the profits of fifteen years, four hundred pounds. He took it and disappeared, and did not return from that time."

LI

THE SHE-MULE OF THE THRONE OR OF THE TENTH (BAGHLAT-AL-'ARSH AU AL-'ASHR)

There is nothing more extraordinary than this nonsense. They say that on the night of the twenty-seventh of the month Rajab, or according to others on the night of the *tenth* of the month Muharram,[1] as can be gathered from its name, there is to be seen a black she-mule which goes round all the cultivated districts, with a saddle-bag full of gold on her back, and, above the saddle-bag, the head [p. 101] of a slave severed from its trunk. They say that whoever chances upon her, must take what goods are in the saddle-bag and place instead barley for the mule. For this reason the silly ones amongst the country folk spend all their nights awake on the look out for the foot-prints of the she-mule.

An old man of advanced age (one of those who still trust in this error but who told his story after the manner of a jest) said to me: I was sitting along with three of my companions at the house of a friend of ours in the middle of the road, on the night appointed for the passing of the mule. (It is said that she passes along the best path.) We determined upon spending the whole night in watching. When we were in the last third

[1] [The tenth day of al-Muharram, the first month of the Moslem year, has a sacred significance amongst the faithful. It is the *'Ashūrā*, or voluntary fast day observed by the *sunnīs*, or orthodox Moslems, while on the same day the *shi'as*, or sectarians of Islam, commemorate the fatal conflict at Kerbela, when the Prophet's grandson Husain was killed (in A.D. 680).]

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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FRIDAY.

The week is over, and on the eve of Friday the muezzin proclaims, by a variation in words and melody, the day of the Lord, which begins at this hour, and consequently on Thursday evening. But neither now nor yet next morning does any change in the physiognomy of the working day manifest itself. The retail-dealer sits in his shop, the artisan knocks and hammers, the broker shouts, the countryman brings his fruits as at other times, it is but a very few that have even changed their clothes. Towards mid-day the muezzin calls repeatedly, not as at other times only once, and now the town assumes a remarkably deserted appearance, in the streets and market-places only idle boys make a stir, the whole grown-up male population hurry to the mosques. Here, sitting in rows upon the ground, the congregation listen to the exhortations of the uneducated lay-preacher in the pulpit, who but a short time ago sat in his shop and wove or worked at his trade of tailor or carpenter, while the attendants on a platform chant formulas in confirmation of his words. A short half hour and the whole service, the sermon of the preacher, his official supplication, and the genuflections of the worshippers, are at an end. The remainder of the day is also devoted to ordinary occupations, the Prophet having so permitted. Only the schools and the public offices remain closed.

As with the Friday so with many other days held sacred by the Mohammedans; the uninitiated is often made aware of them only by means of slices of bread and butter, which a friendly neighbour sends to the house, or, as at the Ashoora, by a kind of cosmopolitan cake, consisting of flour, wheat, barley, walnuts, hazel-nuts, raisins, rose-perfume, cinnamon, ginger, and all other possible fruits and spices.

RAMADAN.

But now comes the month of fasting—the sacred *Ramadan*. On the evening of the day preceding the first of this month

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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tion of Ramadan is attended with still greater difficulties. 796
In modern times, however, the inhabitants of the province are informed by telegraph from the capital, when the new [206]
moon became visible there, and that generally at a time before even the most sharp-sighted among the country people could descry anything.

So soon as it is believed to be certain that the new moon 785 ●
has appeared, in towns where there are cannon a loud report 796
proclaims the commencement of the fast, and from this moment [207]
the Moslim becomes quite a changed man. Henceforward he leads more of a nocturnal life. In the morning during the fast only a few persons belonging to the lowest classes are seen, as in the large towns of Europe; porters, water-carriers, day-labourers, ass and camel drivers, go to their occupations; the children, who are not expected to fast, and the infidels have possession of the streets; the markets and [943]
cafés are deserted, the shops and offices shut. Gradually a person here and there rises, and, with eyelids weighed down by sleep, crawls languidly along, and the shops begin to open. Such things as are absolutely necessary are bought, but trade remains extremely dull, and when a person asks to see some goods the shop-keeper sulkily lays aside the Koran, which he had been conning over to himself aloud, moving his head to and fro, and scarcely deigns to give the customer a single glance. "When ye fast, be not as the hypocrites of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast" (Mat. vi. 16).

In the forenoon nature makes herself felt as being deprived of her proper night's rest; from noon onwards hunger and thirst also demand to be appeased. Not a bite, not a sup, not an odour must enter the body that is clad in the armour of fasting. The most exquisite dainties would not be able to seduce a fasting Moslim. When he passes an infidel who is smoking he carefully shuts both mouth and nose, and it is not many years yet since any one who dared to smoke before a fasting Moslim would have suffered for it. Unless he is very unwell (and then he is freed from fasting) a Mohammedan takes no medicine during the day, he even refuses to

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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785 796 allow an eye-lotion to be dropped upon his sore eyes, and the doctor may as well desist at once from attempting a regular treatment during this month. Anointing the head, bathing, 783 cleaning out the ears, and even looking into a mirror, are 785 also considered sinful by some. It need scarcely be men- 796 tioned that matrimonial duties, were it even a kiss, are excluded from the labours of the day. Perjury, stealing, and lying are trifles compared with the deadly sin of cooling the parched tongue with a single drop of water during a day in Ramadan. Ramadan is the touch-stone of the true Moslim, and there are very few who openly at least venture to break the fast. Even the women, who know nothing more of their [562] religion than the words Mohammed, paradise, hell-fire, and [841] unbelievers, fast likewise (though not in all places); if their menses intervene, however, they become unclean, and fasting then becomes sinful. A person who is sick and travelling does not require to fast, and can make up for lost time on another occasion.

785 796 The nearer evening approaches the more does the traffic on the street increase. It is comical to see the eagerness with which the faster awaits the minute that allows him again the wished-for refreshment. One man, for instance, may be seen standing with a live coal held above the newly-filled bowl of his pipe, another holds a piece of date-bread or a cup of coffee an inch from his mouth. The cannon roars, and the [302] dainty is at once bolted. As the thunder of the cannon clears off the clouds from the face of the sky, so does it cheer up the gloomy lenten-visages of the sons of Islam. The streets 796 again become empty, since at home there is already an abun- 264 dant repast prepared; of fat mutton, and many other varieties of dishes, of spices, and sweets of all kinds, there is abundance at the tables of the rich; while the man of the lower classes, who can seldom afford to buy meat at other seasons of the year, has been saving up for months in order to give himself the gratification of a good evening "breakfast" during Ramadan. It is a good custom among the rich to have a [574] guest at this meal, and one is often taken in off the street. [735] Nor does the poor beggar at this time go empty away.

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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order to add life to an entertainment gentlemen often send for singers, instrumentalists, and dancers, the last of whom are generally in great request on the evenings of this month. The religious element is represented by a schoolmaster who recites the Koran in another room, and who is expressly hired for the month, or an educated slave or a son may perform this office. Other feasts, such as circumcisions or marriages, are never celebrated in the sacred month. Sittings of the courts are commonly held and the more important official business performed at night. It is not till towards midnight that quietness prevails; the muezzin calls, and soon after, a cry is heard and a warning shot sounds over the town intimating that it is time to prepare for the last meal. If any person has failed to notice this he is warned by individuals who about this time wander singly through the town from house to house beating a drum. The "vigil-meal" consists of the remains of the principal meal warmed up, or of meat fried with butter and articles made of flour, such as are at other times prepared for breakfast. Two hours after the boom of the cannon is again heard, the fast has to begin and along with it the same routine. Such is the sacred month of Ramadan, the great month of fasting and also of feasting, for which the women during the following month sing songs of regret as if for a loved one departed.

THE GREAT AND THE LITTLE FEAST.

In the three following days of the next month, Shaual, the "Little Feast," the "Little Bairam" of the Turks, is celebrated. It begins, as every day does, in the evening. The women have made ready bread and butter and sugar-cakes, the men dress themselves in their best, and the barbers are occupied till late at night in attending to their customers. On this evening three cannon shots proclaim that the fast has now come to an end. After supper everybody goes early to bed, but before sunrise all the men are in the mosque offering up their feast-day prayers, and listening to the feast-day sermon, which does not last much longer